/684 cont./

837 himself corrected it soon after, saying that "generally a great deal of unfaithfulness" /cited in English/ (MM:III, 117;1869) is customary. Six years later he (i):19 learned of the splendid [538] Yamana simile, "an adulterous person was likened to a rotten tree which has only to be touched to fall" /cited in English/. If a people seeks such a means of defense, it confirms its alarm over the serious danger which threatens it from marital infidelity.

A surprisingly large number of words signifying adulterous action have been collected in BD. Hyades and Spegazzini several times mention the fact that adultery is committed by the husband as well as the wife. The reliable Fred Lawrence assured me with all certainty that, according to his ten years' experience, a considerable number of women had lovers. Each of them knew that she was bound to fidelity toward her husband (85), but

> 85. Hyades (q):378 also emphasizes that the Indian women "are bound in fidelity to their husbands" /translated from French/. It is an exaggeration, however, when Martial:199 says: "Fidelity is very rare in the Fuegian marriages, and morals are very loose" /translated from French/.

nevertheless yielded to the urge in greatest secrecy. It is difficult to decide who is chiefly to blame, but each of the guilty parties has his share. "The seducer was probably generally to blame" (Gusinde [ℓ]:168); we might deduce this from the admonitions given young girls in the čiěxaus ceremony. "The women of to-
837 day," Fred Lawrence continued, "are scarcely ashamed of their
177 transgressions and force themselves preferably on Europeans because they are paid by them. Where else did one or another of the women get her new dress, since neither she nor her husband earned anything to pay for it! In former times the illicit affair was kept secret, but nowadays many an older Indian woman is not at all embarrassed if one accuses her openly. Her husband is silent, for he knows that she /685/ is supplying herself with the things she wants." Some Indians were even offended at the behavior of old Marocha, so much so that they repeatedly spoke

X 881 969 776

/898 cont./
In order to give strong emphasis to the admonitions, Yetáita is mentioned again and again.

"Of course, besides that, there is also Hidábuan; he is the strong one who actually punishes. Everyone must be particularly careful of him. But all that is taken for granted and that is why Hidábuan is less frequently mentioned in the čiéxaus (329).

329. "Hidabuan," like "Watauineiwa," is a name for the same Supreme Being.

Here we want to make our teachings and admonitions to the candidates effective; that is why we threaten them with Yetáita. Our men give all the calls that the uéwáala attribute to him. The young chap takes this into consideration after he enters the Great Hut for the third time, but previous to that, out of fear of Yetáita, he has been set upon the right course [of fulfilling his duty]. Later he is told that only men produce these calls. Then he says to himself: /899/ 'Hitherto I thought Yetáita called out from the earth!' Nevertheless, he remains on the good path, to which he has by now become accustomed."

[885]

After the candidates have been dismissed from the second youth initiation they are legally adults. In general, except on special occasions, they do not receive further instructions or exhortations. Hence Yetáita is not mentioned outside the čiéxaus hut.

X 881 969 773 538

In the mythology of the Yamana the tales concerning the actual bearers of culture, named Yoálox, and their family have a special place (330). In olden times this name was scarcely ever

330. Here we should say in anticipation that among these Fuegians he embodies what the hero "Kwanyip" does for the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 581). Both have created important institutions and prescribed the norm of life, so to speak.

mentioned to immature youths before their initiation (p. 178 /untranslated/); the girls heard it for the first time on the occasion of

/899 cont./

their menarche (p. 575). In the číexaus, one or another deed of the Yoflox siblings was told in more detail as a sort of first introduction. Only the young men who were permitted entrance to the kína learned the complete cycle of tales. When, at my repeated request, old Alfredo revealed the Yoflox cycle of legends to me as he sat in a circle of men, he emphasized: "Actually we tell these things only at the kína celebration." It is also regarded as a rare exception if men among themselves speak at length about this hero. Women avoid it in any case. In front of uŭwáala adults now and then will say: "The manner in which we Yamana should conduct ourselves [= the entire body of moral law] has been arranged by Yoálox!" Thus he is regarded more or less as the bearer of the decrees of Watauinéiwa to the Yamana.

On the other hand, the legends of more general content are treated differently. They are in large part repeated in the číexaus hut. It does not matter whether there is an obligation to tell them to the candidates; most of them actually are told, some even repeatedly. The decisive factor in this connection is the presence of persons who are able to tell a story well. They are urged by the rest of the participants to offer this or that story. If someone present knows the same story with some variations, he feels impelled to speak up also. If the číexaus celebration lasts a long time, many an older person will call for a repetition of the stories that were told at the beginning or that were particularly well liked. No matter what the procedure, the uŭwáala actually hear almost all the myths current in their tribe. They may have become familiar with some of them earlier through conversation in the dwellings.

At least one or two stories are told by the leader or overseer personally at each initiation, and he does it in a strong, clear voice so that everyone can understand him. Now and then he must offer this kind of variety to those present, /900/ either personally or through a suitable storyteller. They listen in suspense. Meanwhile the customary singing of several persons ceases; only very softly one person, perhaps supported by another, will audibly hum the melody apart from the storyteller. The adult participants in particular do not want to miss the enjoyment of hearing their old legends well told some evening in the číexaus hut. At the

/900 cont./
same time the uŕwĵala are introduced to this treasure. It cannot be denied that significant rules of conduct or customs, as well as good or evil deeds, are elucidated on the basis of many an example from a legend. Therefore the stories to some extent also serve the chief aim of the čiŕaxan, to train the young people.

γ. Work Drills

A surprisingly rich store of teachings and precepts, principles and rules of conduct, and excerpts from individual experience and from old legends are offered the candidates at the initiation. We see, therefore, how the long period during which they are together is filled. The experienced educators in Tierra del Fuego are not content with theoretical instruction alone, however. They insist on practice and drill under their supervision. They are constantly affording the uŕwĵala an opportunity to transform into action the teachings and principles put before them, inasmuch as the best rules are of no avail if they are not practiced. When I openly thanked Alfredo for what I had learned in my first initiation, he said to me in a friendly tone: "Certainly, everything that goes on in the čiŕaxan hut is very good. But we Yamana are happiest if the uŕwĵala conduct themselves throughout their lives as we have taught them in the čiŕaxan!"

The young people entering there as candidates are at the age of maturity, that is to say, shortly before their marriage. Soon they will have the care of a family and the duties connected with those occupations which, according to the prevailing division of labor, fall to each sex. The community of fellow-tribesmen wishes to guarantee that the family soon to be established will really be prepared for life, that each of the two young spouses is equal to the problems of family life. The old people express it specifically: "In the čiŕaxan we ascertain the degree of manual skill possessed by each uŕwĵala. Whatever he lacks in the way of capability, he must acquire here!" For example, in some families the boys are given too little opportunity for independent hunting because the father personally does the main work. This deficiency is corrected in the initiation. Without discrimination,

/1139 cont./

the former general acquaintance with the rich mythological material has been lost and that the younger generation devotes more attention to all the things that came with European culture. There are only a few old people who have still preserved most of it to the present day. Why they cannot transmit this precious heritage, as was so easily possible in earlier times when the European newcomers were not yet disturbingly active, need not be specifically pointed out. Many a young person frankly regrets that the old people hold back their lovely stories even when they find willing ears in a sizable gathering of fellow-tribesmen. At present, however, all is in the process of disintegration, and the old people suffer very much under the collapse of all the institutions and customs; for that very reason they are no longer available for things which already, so to speak, belong far in the past.

• 538 On rare occasions one or another of them will once more offer to tell a story as in former times. /1140/ He himself takes the initiative; it would be a breach of respect if a younger person openly or with slightly veiled hints were to ask for an old myth. It is almost always an accidental circumstance that awakens remembrance of a mythological subject, and it usually happens that while someone is speaking of his experiences, his words, as though a self-contained unit, drift over into the other realm of thought. This adequately suggests the peculiar way in which the Yamana recite an old myth. Actually, the storyteller never tells the entire myth from beginning to end in the progressive continuity of a meaningful construction. Rather, the general habit is to select some part of it and add to it a personal event, an independent achievement, a unique experience. To begin with the storyteller does not care whether his own report ties up meaningfully, if one may use this word, with some part of the myth. The Yamana has a lively fancy which will not let itself be forced into rules of ordered logic. If one judges the recitation of an old Indian from this standpoint, he will be surprised to find, for example, that the thread is broken at an inappropriate point and that a short section of an entirely different nature is inserted without any justification whatever, perhaps even absurdly. An account built up this way, with a combination of elements which obviously disturb the sense, does not bother the

/1140 cont./

audience in the least. It is enough to be entertained in lively fashion, and they direct their whole attention only to what is being offered at the moment.

Inasmuch as everyone present is all attention -- common decency demands this of our Fuegians -- a particular statement will sometimes move another old person to such an extent that he will interject his own thoughts into a brief pause by the storyteller. Occasionally his account then goes on at such length that no one is concerned any longer with the first man's story. Thus it may happen that even large sections of a particular myth which was started remain incomplete.

One must not overlook the fact that personal experiences and actual occurrences, if they are described by someone in lively discourse, are far more joyously received and animatedly discussed than the material of a myth which is, after all, familiar. Deep in his heart the Yamana wants to shine in front of others; he wants to count for a great deal among his kind. Hence he makes an effort to offer his own account as effectively as possible to his audience, to give it brilliant form by his choice of expressions, to spice it with surprising additions. Sometimes one has the impression that someone is beginning some small part of a legend with the conscious intent of using it as a pretext for recounting a personal experience, which takes incomparably more time, /1141/ in order to avoid the suspicion among his listeners that he is obtrusive or greedy for recognition and fame. If one put together the individual pieces of an evening of storytelling in any of the Yamana huts, he would come up with a strange conglomeration.

One must realize that the content and form of the material presented take their particular slant, that is, their actual individual coloring, from the personal qualifications of the storyteller. This is clearly shown in the undisguised preference of the people for one storyteller over another. If they see that he is in a good frame of mind, the happily excited neighbors are drawn to him and their eyes light up expectantly. They listen to his words for hours with untold enjoyment. Afterward individual persons will exchange their impressions and their opinions about a whole evening's recital and about the ability of the storytellers. They were quite frank about naming for me the men whom they like to hear

/1141 cont./

538 much more than others. The differences between one storyteller and another lies in the manner of portrayal, the choice of words, the heartfelt participation in the content of the story. It is, of course, inevitable that now and then some good old soul will relate a long chapter out of his life or repeat an experience to the assembled neighbors although he has almost no gift for story-telling and is more boring than entertaining. We Europeans call it a sign of senility when some old man tells something for the hundredth time that everyone knows by heart or exaggerates the importance of minor details for which others cannot work up any interest. Just such things happen among our Fuegians and are no less correctly judged by younger persons than they are among us, but their extreme veneration of old people obliges them to listen attentively and to bear it steadfastly, no matter how much self-control they are obliged to exert. There are specific admonitions to the young along these lines, and everyone observes this obligation.

538 The general remarks that I have set down here are for the most part applicable almost literally to the practices and conditions prevailing among the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 568).

I personally recall with great pleasure and satisfaction many a gay gathering on one evening or another when I joined the Fuegians in a smoke-filled hut. The faintly flickering fire would blaze up now and then and show the attentiveness written on the faces of all present. Enthusiastically we listened to the animated words of the storyteller, completely lost in the kingdom of myth, unmindful of the storm that was vigorously shaking the loose posts of the little hut, heedless of /1142/ the hour far beyond midnight. When finally the company broke up, everyone crept out of the storyteller's hut refreshed and enriched with new thoughts and was swallowed up by the night. If stars happened to [821] be shining down from heaven, a knowing old man would insist on pointing his finger at this or that star, repeating its name, and characterizing its personality. Their brilliance illuminated the short distance to each Yamana's hut, and in his dreams the figures from the world of legend would stand before his paltry bed. Now and then a day ends in this way, which makes every Fuegian happy.

/1293 cont./

stranger. After a time old Hánnuí accompanied his son back to place in the woods from where he had taken him. But the little boy was very ill at ease. Afterward he told the Yamana in minute detail what he had experienced with the Hánnuí folk. He continued to work industriously for the blind old man.

These two myths alone show clearly enough that the Hánnuí spirits are not even remotely the objects of a cult or of religious veneration (257). The Yamana say that /1294/ a generation ago

257. Bridges (k):237 confirms this: "The natives never worshipped or revered cushpik, hannush, or any other being whatsoever" /translated from Spanish/.

the Hánnuí were seen for the last time here in their forests. Since then no one has seen a trace of them. On long winter evenings, if two or three families are living in the same hut or if a number of families are camping at the same place for some time, they love to tell stories of the Hánnuí and to repeat their own experiences with these creatures (p. 35). The stories are appropriate to the winter season, so to speak. In summertime the requisite mood is lacking. One evening, on my third expedition, the people spoke in great detail about everything they knew in connection with the Hánnuí. Blind Whaits was present. In the midst of the conversation he asked innocently: "Is winter so near at hand that you begin telling stories about the Hánnuí?"

The old men did not hide from me their regret that the young and middle-aged people no longer believe the stories and reports about Hánnuí and laugh at them as products of self-deception or imagination. They prove it by saying: "Sometimes we have worked for weeks deep in the forest (258) and never saw

258. This was work in sawmills for Europeans or on roads commissioned by the government.

the least sign of a Hánnuí; much less were we molested by Hánnuí!" This is the opinion of the modern, enlightened generation of Yamana. The old people nevertheless cling steadfastly to their

/1294 cont./

TR belief and are ready now and then to recount with firm convic-
538 tion their favorite stories. Much of what the imagination of the Yamana attributes to the Hámuš is to be found among the Selk'nam in their Yóši (Vol. I, 697).

4. The Guardian Spirits

776 Yamana ideas about the Yeſáčel are nowhere near as extensive and definite as those about the Hámuš. The reason is probably that the yékamuš to a great extent claim these spirits for themselves. That is why the rest of the people are not aware that they, too, actually have such a guardian spirit assigned to them.

The older Yamana, who are somewhat more thoughtfully concerned with this belief, are agreed about the personality of these Yeſáčel. Richard, as well as a few Indian women, described them to me as follows. The Yeſáčel are very small figures "only the size of a thumb." They are conspicuous because they are bald; each of them has only three or four long hairs which stand upright in the region of the crown of its head. There is about an equal number of male and female Yeſáčel. They wear no clothes, but go about stark naked. /1295/ Maŝemiksa was alone in the opinion that the Yeſáčel are exclusively male, and everyone very definitely denied it. There is a considerable number of Yeſáčel, but only a yékamuš is able to see them in dreams.

As for the relationship of the Yeſáčel to human beings and in particular their power, our Indians believe that each person has his own Yeſáčel. It is the task of the yékamuš, as soon as possible after a child is born to "settle" a Yeſáčel on him, that is, to assign him one. "Everyone must have his Yeſáčel!" is repeatedly and emphatically declared. The yékamuš gives every person a Yeſáčel of the corresponding sex; thus a boy gets a male Yeſáčel. If, by mistake, a newborn child has not been given this guardian spirit, the omission must be remedied at the next opportunity, at any rate at the next lóima yékamuš, the gathering of medicine men. The first and most important task of the

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301 same thing must be said about the feather ornaments, which can be seen on various ceremonial occasions in the xáiyaye (pp. 718, 740) and at the ceremonies of mourning (p. 1065) as kapayá, a large triangular piece of skin, or kwarwéyani, a band of skin two fingers wide and covered with down. The apawéya is only worn by the yékamuš, who regularly puts it on when he is practicing his calling (p. 1507).

304 It has been proved that the Yamana do not practice any kind of intentional body mutilation (p. 106), and Hyades (h):1345 agrees with various observers that "there are no deformations or ethnic mutilations" /translated from French/. Fitz-Roy (a):138 is also correct when he maintains: "No ornaments are worn in the nose, ears, or lips, nor on the fingers" /cited in English/. Bridges (b):206, Bove (e):157 and (g):234, and Hyades (d):306 and (p):320, as well as other travelers, emphatically deny that the Yamana are acquainted with tattooing. Nevertheless, I was able to prove that, to a modest extent, it was formerly practiced on the candidates in the xáiyaye (p. 715), not, however, for beauty. In the 302 most recent times it has been replaced by a special body painting, either that described on page 717, or the entire upper part of the body is painted uniformly white and two finger-thick, red parallel lines are drawn close together from the farthest lateral projection /1468/ of one shoulder to the other in an arc that extends over the chest and back (cf. Fig. 21 of the photogravure plates /at the end of this work/). This painting is used only for the xáiyaye.

• 530 Our Yamana are acquainted with neither poetry nor proverbs, 533 but in the syllables constantly repeated in their songs, there is an agreeable rhythm and a rich sound; they do not have a definite meaning, however. The melodies are always merely short movements with simple motifs. The syllables, made up of the same or a few different sounds, are either repeated on a single pitch or in a variant in which the third predominates. Gay melodies are clearly distinguishable from sad ones (368). The Yamana like to sing:

368. Bridges (a):207 established that "The singing of these Indians is of different kinds" /cited in English/. According to Hyades (p):330, "the song is usually gay: it is made

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526 The loser would call upon a friend who would in turn challenge the victor who had no choice but to accept. Before the wrestling match began the wrestlers were magically massaged by the medicine man. Sometimes these single matches developed into a free-for-all wrestling match in which several or all of the men would join. Sometimes, too, these general wrestling bouts ended in a serious scuffle.

• 532 Music.—Proverbs were absent. So, too, was poetry; the nearest approach to it was the meaningless words or syllables having a certain rhythm which occur in songs. The songs themselves were extremely
533 simple and monotonous with or without meaningless words. The *Yahgan* had many songs, sung for special occasions such as the čiéxaus and mourning rites; others intoned ad libitum. There were no lullabies. *Yahgan* songs show sundry very primitive features, according to
[534] von Hornbostel (1928). There were no musical instruments at all. Even the rattle, drum, and flute were absent. Staves with which to beat time were used in certain rites.

535 Dances.—Apart from the dances carried out during the chiéxaus and kina rites, there were none of a symbolic, imitative, or dramatic type, and no war or hunting dances. The *Yahgan* danced alone, in circles or in Indian file. The women rarely danced, and the men and women never together.

RELIGION

[971] Most of the religious life of the *Yahgan* centered around theism and shamanism. There was a distinct fear of the dead; there were also the mourning observances previously noted; the souls of dead shamans entered into the beliefs and practices of the medicine men.
[972] But no organized ancestral cult existed, and the dead were not prayed to. Animistic beings and observances appeared marginal to the theistic cult and focal in shamanism. There were a number of miscellaneous magico-religious conceptions and observations. Each
[973] *Yahgan* had a yelášal, as a sort of guardian spirit. Various omens were believed in: for instance, the call of the owl was supposed to portend a murder or at least a death. A number, too, of taboos were observed: for instance, when traveling by canoe people had to throw waste into the fire kept burning in the canoe, and not into the water, lest the children should cry. There does not appear to have been any form of divination. The kina rite, to be described, had religious features to it, but its purpose and function were primarily social. The great bulk, therefore, of *Yahgan* religion having been taken up with theism and shamanism, in summarizing *Yahgan* theistic and shamanistic phenomena, we shall be summarizing *Yahgan* religion as such.

976 Theism.—There was a very definite belief in a Supreme Being called Watauinéwa or Watauinéiwa, who was also called by other